

# PLURACTIONALS IN FWE

Hilde Gunnink - 28 August 2017 - CALL 47

# Fwe



- +- 20.000 speakers
- spoken in Zambia and Namibia
- Eastern Bantu, Bantu Botatwe (Bostoen 2009, de Luna 2010)

# Pluractionality

pluractionality / verbal number: multiple events

- **ètêndè rìcò:kêètè**  
'His leg is broken.'
- **ètêndè rìcò:káùkìtè > PLURACTIONAL**  
'His leg is broken in multiple places.'

# Pluractionals

1. Suffix **-a-**: event-internal pluractionality
2. Stem reduplication: event-internal/external pluractionality
3. Prefix **-kabú-** / **-yabú-**: locative pluractional

# Pluractional **-a-**

- derivational suffix **-a-**
- obligatorily followed by another derivational suffix:
  - **-ur-** / **-uk-**: separative
  - **-ik-**: impositive
  - **-ir-**: applicative

# Pluractional -a-

## Pluractional -a- with separative -ur-/-uk-

-dàm-à-ùr-à	‘to beat up, beat to a pulp’
-cènk-à-ùk-à	‘to look over both shoulders’

## Pluractional -a- with transitive impositive -ik-

-dàns-à-ik-à	‘to scatter’
-hánj-à-ik-à	‘to hang up (multiple objects)’

## Pluractional -a- with applicative -ir-

-shónj-à-ir-à	‘to throw (multiple times)’
-sòs-à-ir-à	‘to keep on poking a fire’

# Pluractional **-a-**

From **\*-ag-** “imperfective/repetitive/habitual”  
(Meeussen 1967)

Or from **\*-ad-** “extensive: be in a spread-out position” (Schadeberg 2003)?

# “Extensive” -a-

Yeyi (R41)

**-aar-** “extensive”

**-tj’embaara** ‘pinch repeatedly’

Tonga (M64)

**-aul-/-auk-** “dispersive/frequentative”

**-yandaula** ‘seek for, want in many places’

Lamba (M54)

**-al-/-aul-/-auk-** “extensive”

**-kwamaula ~ -kwamala** ‘tear to bits’

Kwangali (K33)

**-ag-ur-/-ag-an-** “extensive”

**-tab-ag-ur-a** ‘split into pieces’;

**-ly-ag-an-a** ‘eat often, eat everything’

Mbukushu (K333)

**-aghur-** “frequentative”

**-tet-aghur-a** ‘chop up into small pieces’



# Pluractional -a-

Event-internal pluractionality: repetition on a single occasion

**kùdàmàùrà èngòmà**

‘to beat a drum’

**kùzùkàùrà mú'mpótò**

‘to stir a pot’

# Pluractional -a-

Multiple participants

Intransitive verb: multiple subjects

**èmpótó zàpwá cáùkì**

‘The pots are broken.’

**bàntù bònshé: bòmúmùn zì bànáshàngàùrì**

‘All the people in the village have contributed.’

# Pluractional -a-

Transitive verbs: multiple patients

**òshùmàiné** màkôtô

‘Tie knots.’

**nìndàzípwàcàùrà**

‘I broke them.’

# Pluractional -a-

Ditransitive verbs: multiple recipients

**àyàbúzyà:kàirá** bàntù

‘He is going around building for people.’

**kùtámbàikà**

‘to give to (many people)’

# Pluractional -a-

Pluractionality & completeness/intensity

**míndì yé!mpótò yàcò:káùkì**

‘The legs of the pot are (all) broken.’

**míndì yòbíré yé!mpótò yàcò:káùkì**

‘Two legs of the pot are broken.’



# Pluractional stem reduplication

Stem reduplication targets the entire verb stem:

- with derivational and inflectional suffixes
- without inflectional prefixes
- without tones
- highly productive

# Pluractional: stem reduplication

-àmbà	‘talk’	-àmbààmbà	‘talk a lot’
-dàmà	‘beat’	-dàmàdàmà	‘beat repeatedly’
-kwâtà	‘touch’	-kwâtàkwâtà	‘touch everywhere’
-shèkà	‘laugh’	-shèkàshèkà	‘laugh a lot’

# Pluractional: stem reduplication

Event-internal pluractional: repetition on a single occasion

**ndàkùrí kùyèndàyèndà hà ndákùàmbà héfònì**

‘I was walking back and forth,  
while I was talking on the phone.’



# Pluractional: stem reduplication

Event-external pluractional: repetition on multiple occasions

**ndàyéndíyèndì**

‘I have travelled to many places.’

# Pluractional: stem reduplication

Multiple participants

Intransitive: multiple subjects

**bònshé: nìbáyèrèkàyèrèkà**

‘They have all tried.’

**màhámbà òkùtòmbwèrìsà mângì àdànsídànsì**

‘Many hoes for weeding were lying around.’

# Pluractional: stem reduplication

Multiple participants

Transitive: multiple patients

ènwé **sèmùkàcònkòmònàcònkòmónà**. Tùmùtwàré  
kúcìpàtêra. ámùnyà màshérêṇì, kúcìkórò.

‘You just withdraw and withdraw [multiple amounts of money]. We can take him to the hospital [with one amount of money]. The other money, for the school.’

# Pluractional: stem reduplication

Pluractional & low intensity

**mùyéndéyéndè** bùlyò kàníni

‘Just walk a little bit/small distance.’

mbùryó **!ndíyìsànzàsànzá** bùryô,

yàràshàmbà nênjà

‘I am only washing them (a little),  
they will become clean (properly) later.’

# Pluractional: stem reduplication

## Pluractional & negative connotations

àkwèsì **ààmbàâmbà**

‘He talks too much.’

cìnj’ áh’ **!óshèkàshékà** !búryò?

‘Why are you always just laughing  
(stupidly/annoyingly)?’

# Interchangability of -a- and reduplication

No semantic difference

**kùshángàùrà ~ kùshángàshàngà**

‘to contribute’

**kùrúngàùzà ~ kùrúngàrùngà**

‘to disturb (with noise)’

**kùg|óntàùrà ~ kùg|óntàg|òntà**

‘to drip (continuosly)’

Semantic difference: intensity

**kùàmbàùrà** ‘to discuss’

**kùàmbààmbà** ‘to talk a lot’

### 3. Locative pluractional **-kabú-** / **-yabú-**

Inflectional prefix **-kabú-** / **-yabú-**

Meaning:

- X while moving
- X in different places
- gradual change

### 3. Locative pluractional -kabú- / -yabú-

X in different places:

cì**kàbú**wà

‘It keeps falling (while travelling; the item keeps falling out of your pocket in different places).’

kàbá**kàbú**râ:rà

‘They were sleeping in different places.’



### 3. Locative pluractional -kabú- / -yabú-

X while moving:

à**kábú**¹shíbà

‘He whistles while walking.’

bà**yàbú**tòm’ èmpênè

‘He goes dragging a goat.’

### 3. Locative pluractional -kabú- / -yabú-

Gradual change: only with change-of-state verbs

kàníni kànîni, kùfùmà bá**kàbú**fùmà bènà

‘He is slowly getting more and more rich.’

shèkù**kàbú**hìsà

‘It is becoming hot.’

# Comparison

1. Pluractional **-a-**
  - derivation
  - event-internal pluractionality
2. Pluractional by stem reduplication
  - between derivation and inflection
  - event-internal and -external pluractionality
3. Locative pluractional **-kabú- / -yabú-**
  - inflection
  - multiple locations

